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OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES

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INTRODUCTION

TO A

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES

BY

Clarendon Press
C. P. LUCAS, B.A.

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD
AND THE COLONIAL OFFICE, LONDON

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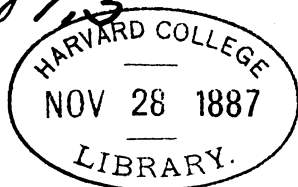
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1887

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PREFACE.

THIS little book is intended as the first instalment of a Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Any succeeding parts will be more purely geographical and will deal with the separate divisions of the Empire.

I know no book which gives quite simply and shortly a connected account of the Colonies, of the geographical and historical reasons of their belonging to England, and of the special place which each colony holds in the Empire. The present is an attempt to supply the want from materials to hand at the Colonial Office and elsewhere.

C. P. LUCAS.

May, 1887.

Note to p. 39, l. 31.—Since this paragraph was written, slavery
in Cuba has been abolished by law.

BOOKS RELATING TO COLONIAL SUBJECTS.

THE subjoined list of some well-known books relating to colonial subjects may be useful to teachers and students :—

The annual *Colonial Office List*, published by Messrs. Harrison & Sons, contains much general and useful information, together with maps of most of the colonies : the issue for 1887 has been considerably revised and enlarged.

The various Handbooks published in connexion with the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and the volume compiled under the authority of the Royal Commission, and entitled *Her Majesty's Colonies*, are familiar to the public.

Among older standard books are :—

HEEREN'S *Political System of Europe and its Colonies*, which groups together clearly the events of different periods and the work of different nations, giving the authorities in each case.

The same writer's *Researches of Asiatic nations* and *African nations* give full accounts of Phœnician and Carthaginian colonisation.

MERIVALE'S *Lectures on Colonisation and Colonies* are well known.

SIR G. C. LEWIS'S *Essay on the Government of Dependencies* is full of history and political philosophy : it ought to be specially valuable in connexion with the teaching for the Final Classical Schools at Oxford.

The chapter in ADAM SMITH'S *Wealth of Nations* entitled *Of Colonies*, and especially the second part, *On the Causes of the Prosperity of New Colonies*, will of course be consulted.

viii BOOKS RELATING TO COLONIAL SUBJECTS.

RAYNAL's History of *The Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* yields a great deal of information mixed with much of little value.

HELPS' *Spanish Conquest of America* contains an account of early Portuguese exploration on the West Coast of Africa, as well as the history of the Spaniards in America, and a full record of the treatment of the native races, etc.

Among later publications :—

SIR G. BIRDWOOD's Report on the *Miscellaneous old Records of the India Office*, Nov. 1, 1878, printed by the Government, contains a most complete and interesting summary of early European colonisation in the East.

DOYLE's *History of the English in America*, 1882, gives in the earlier chapters accounts of the first European voyages to and settlements in North America.

La Colonisation scientifique et les Colonies françaises, by BORDIER, dated Paris 1884, gives suggestive information as to climate, race, and other factors in colonisation.

It is needless to mention PROFESSOR SEELEY's *Expansion of England*.

Among smaller publications :—

Colonies and Dependencies (in the 'English Citizen' series), by J. S. COTTON and E. J. PAYNE ; RANSOME's Lectures on *Our Colonies and India* ; and SIR RAWSON RAWSON's *Inaugural Address to the Statistical Society, on British and Foreign Colonies*, delivered in November 1884, and published by Messrs. Stanford, ought to be noticed. The last especially gives a vast amount of information in small space, and is accompanied by several useful diagrams.

Lastly, it is perhaps allowable to remind those interested in the subject of the various books of the invaluable Hakluyt series, and of the separate articles of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

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CHAPTER I.

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WHAT IS A COLONY?

1. THE English colonies should more correctly be called the English¹ dependencies. All the foreign and colonial possessions of Great Britain are in a sense dependencies, but to most of them the term colony does not strictly apply.

CHAPTER
I.
—+—
*Colony and
plantation.*

The Latin word 'colonia' implied cultivation of the ground: it is more correctly translated by 'plantation' than by 'colony'.² The earliest British colonies, those founded in America, were known as plantations; and before the creation of a Secretaryship of State for War and the Colonies at the end of the last century³, the superintendence of colonial matters was entrusted to a Board or Committee for 'Trade and the Plantations.'

Similarly Bacon entitled his essay on colonisation 'Of Plantations,' 'de plantationibus populorum et coloniis,' though he makes use of the word with reference rather to the planting of men and women than to the planting of the soil. 'Plantation' however has long been superseded by 'colony,' and 'colony' has long ceased to imply, if it ever implied, any purely agricultural meaning.

¹ In this book, however, 'dependency' is generally used as the opposite of 'settlement.'

² The terms colony and plantation are fully explained by Sir G. Comewall Lewis, 'Government of Dependencies,' chaps. ii. and iii. in edition of 1841, pp. 114, 115 and 170 etc.

³ The exact changes which occurred in the arrangements for the management of colonial business will be found in the 'Government of Dependencies,' chap. ii. p. 161, and on p. 9 of the last edition (1887) of the Colonial Office List.

2. In his 'Government of Dependencies',¹ Sir G. Lewis lays down that 'a colony properly denotes a body of persons belonging to one country and political community, who, having abandoned that country and community, form a new and separate society, independent or dependent, in some district which is wholly or nearly uninhabited, or from which they expel the ancient inhabitants.'

Taking this definition, it would seem that a colony in its proper sense implies, firstly, voluntary abandonment of one country; secondly, permanent settlement in another; and thirdly, settlement in a country in which the settlers either from the first form the bulk of the inhabitants, or at least in course of time largely outnumber the natives. It is also clear that the word does not necessarily imply dependence on the mother-country.

3. Consequently the Eastern colonies of Great Britain are not colonies in the true sense, for the English residents in them have not abandoned their own country, nor have they permanently settled in the East; while the countries in which they have taken up their temporary abode contain a large native population. The same test excludes other parts of the empire, such as the Mediterranean stations and the settlements on the West coast of Africa. Canada, again, is strictly speaking not a colony; for, as far at least as the older province of Quebec is concerned, it belongs to England not in virtue of settlement but by right of conquest. The Australasian colonies have a better title to the name; but it must be remembered even in their case, that some of the earliest settlers in Australia were not voluntary English emigrants but convicts sent out against their will: while the wars with the Maoris, and the fact that they still remain a not unimportant element in the population of New Zealand, might create a doubt as to whether those islands should be classed as settled or as conquered countries.

¹ Chap. iii.

On the other hand, the United States may well be said to be still colonies of Great Britain, colonies which, though they have been planted not in¹ a 'pure soil,' but in one from which the ancient inhabitants have been expelled, are yet permanent voluntary settlements of English origin in a land, the greater part of which now knows no inhabitants but themselves.

CHAPTER

I.

4. An account then of the English colonies should properly include the United States, and exclude India and many other divisions of the empire: and though the word colony must in this book be used in its popular sense, as simply equivalent to any foreign possession, it is well to bear in mind the true meaning of the term, for it gives at once a clue to the real character of the various possessions, which compose what has been called Greater Britain.

¹ See Bacon's Essay on Plantations.

CHAPTER II.

MOTIVES OF COLONISATION.

CHAPTER II.

*Four main
motives of
colonisa-
tion.*

1. THE main motives of colonisation, which alike in ancient and modern times have led to discovery, to conquest, and to settlement, are four in number; love of enterprise, desire of wealth, social or political discontent, and religion.

2. Of these four, one or other has had greater influence at given periods of history or in certain countries; but hardly even in the minds of the leaders and pioneers of colonisation, much less in those of their followers, has a single motive ever predominated to the exclusion of all the others.

The Greeks, for instance, planted their colonies for commercial purposes as well as to relieve the pressure of population at home. Columbus was not merely an adventurer but also a religious enthusiast. And the motives which led the Puritans to New England were in part social and political as well as religious.

Still it is useful to bear in mind that the river of colonisation has not flowed from one source only; and that from time to time first one tributary and then another has risen in tide and volume, and has given a special colour to the main stream.

*First
motive,
love of
adventure.*

3. To take these four motives in succession: it is hardly necessary to point out that enterprise, energy, and love of adventure are to be found in certain races, climates, and localities, rather than in others. History has abundantly shown that the white man, for instance, is more enterprising than the black or yellow, that maritime peoples take more

kindly to distant adventure than do dwellers inland, and that it is the temperate zone, not the tropics or the Arctic regions, which gives birth to the moving spirits of the world. CHAPTER
II.
—♦—

It is also obvious that discovery must precede conquest or settlement: love of enterprise, therefore, would seem to come first of the four motives in order of time: although in view of the fact that the Phoenicians and Greeks and Northmen were from the first merchants rather than explorers, it is impossible to lay down broadly that love of adventure is the prime source of colonisation. *As a rule
the earliest
in point of
time.*

It is natural to suppose, and history has proved, that this motive is strongest in a new age and in a growing country, when some fresh impulse has been given to the minds of men, bidding them look restlessly to the future, to an unknown land and to an age which they hope will be richer and fuller than the present. Spain had been newly consolidated, and was in the full vigour of youth, when her government sent out Columbus to find America. And in England the period of the Reformation and the Revival of learning gave birth to a race of explorers and adventurers, of the type of Drake and Raleigh, whose chivalry and daring made the Elizabethan age the most romantic and picturesque period of English history.

It is further a motive which clearly works on individual men rather than on governments or associations of men. Subsidies to science may sometimes be given by kings or voted by Parliaments; but, whatever may be the inclinations of the rulers for the time being, governments as such cannot and do not take up enterprise for its own sake. Nor are companies formed to promote adventure, except so far as it is identified with commerce or with the extension of some branch of knowledge: their part is played later, when the pioneers have pointed the way, and when the work has become too extensive and too complicated to be left solely in individual hands. Consequently the question, How far has love of enterprise, apart from other motives, influenced colonisation? nearly means, *It influences individuals more than governments or companies.*

PTER What part in colonising the world has been taken by the few
 great individual explorers?

*i mo-
desire
alth.* 4. The close connexion between the second motive, viz. desire of wealth, and colonisation, is clear enough to need but few words. Men being what they are, this motive must be present in every age and country, to any men or associations of men, who take part in colonising. And with states and governments it is all-powerful.

Love of adventure may overpower other motives in some minds, but very few characters are so constituted as to look only to the excitement which accompanies adventure or to the fame which follows it; and most men, however enterprising, aim at making a fortune as well as a name. The imaginations of the early Spanish adventurers were fired by reports of the treasures of the Indies; and the English sailors who followed in their track hoped to share the plunder, and to make their daring and their patriotism pay.

5. But, to contrast this commercial motive with mere love of adventure, its influence is specially noticeable in three tendencies. It has led to system and permanence in the world of colonising as opposed to single spasmodic efforts. It has in the second place made men co-operate and form companies for conquest or settlement. And thirdly it has determined the part taken by the state in colonisation.

*nerce
i, i. to
and
i-* 6. The first point may be illustrated by reference to the voyages which have been made to the Arctic regions. The record of Arctic adventure consists of a number of more or less isolated attempts at exploration: and so far as any systematic work has been done in this direction, it has been done mainly with the view of discovering a North-West or North-East passage to the Indies, in other words of opening up a new road to commerce. If the climate of the Polar regions had been other than it is, and if, instead of icebound shores, explorers had found a land flowing with milk and honey, or even a practicable route for trade, it is clear that this

part of the earth's surface would not have been left deserted, but that a series of merchants and settlers would have followed in Frobisher's footsteps, and have permanently annexed this section of the New World. At the present time the only regular visitors to the Arctic regions are fishermen : and it is worth noticing that early colonisation, especially in North America, began in great measure with the pursuit of this branch of commerce.

While exploration was disjointed and irregular, the fishing trade could only be successfully carried on by a definite system, under which vessels were sent out to distinct destinations at fixed times. Thus regular intercourse was early established between Europe and North America. The men, who were engaged in the trade, were at once hardy and business-like, fit pioneers of sound colonisation. And the necessities of the traffic naturally led the peoples which were interested in it to win and keep a permanent hold on the shores visited.

It is interesting to bear in mind that, even at the present day, the French, who have lost all their possessions on the mainland of Canada, still retain some share in the fisheries which first attracted their merchant seamen to the North American coasts.

7. In order to produce system and permanence there must be co-operation. A house can only be built with the help of mortar to hold the bricks and stones together ; and commerce has acted as the mortar, which has made it possible to utilise the disjointed stones of exploration in building up strong and lasting colonies.

The part played by companies in colonising will be alluded to in a later chapter : here it is enough to take one illustration, and to point to the fact that English colonisation did not begin in earnest, until chivalry and knight-errantry had given way to the commercial spirit,¹ and until the daring,

¹ See Doyle's 'History of the English in America,' vol. i. chap. vi.

2. To formation of companies,

APTEK explorers of the age of Elizabeth had been succeeded by
 11. prosaic business associations such as the Virginia and the
 ——— East India companies.

govern- 8. And if this desire of wealth has led to the formation of
 t colonising companies, it has also been the motive which
 ng part beyond others has induced states and governments to take a
 nloni- direct part in conquest or settlement.
 m.

In taking and holding dependencies, a government looks to the material advantages to be derived from them either directly or indirectly: even if it plants a purely military post, its object in so doing is to protect and consolidate its resources.

In old days the dependencies of a state were, roughly speaking, either tributary peoples, paying an annual sum to their suzerain; such were the dependencies of Athens and Rome: or they were emporia of trade, such as the settlements formed by the Carthaginians. Again, when the governments of modern Europe took up the work of conquering and settling the New World, they aimed directly at adding to their material resources. In Professor Seeley's¹ words, 'what the state wanted was revenue, hence it became necessary to regard the new countries rather as so much wealth to be transported into Europe than as a new seat for European civilisation.'

And at the present day, if a nation annexes some new territory, though it does not look to a direct payment of gold and silver, yet its action is determined by the advantages which it hopes ultimately to reap in the way of trade. Such, to take one recent instance only, is the object aimed at in declaring an English protectorate over part of New Guinea; the step has been taken with a view to the future maintenance and development of Australian trade in the Southern seas.

rd 9. The third motive, political and social discontent, may in
 ive, a sense be identified with desire of wealth, as most men who
 'ical are dissatisfied with the government or social condition of
 social
 mtent.

¹ 'Expansion of England,' Lecture IV.

their country, and leave home on that account, may be supposed to be desirous of bettering themselves. Still there is a real distinction between the political and social motive on the one hand and the commercial on the other. The latter is always at work; the former operates only at certain periods in a nation's history. The more prosperous a country is, the more active is the commercial spirit in it; whereas it is at times of depression and unhappiness that the motive of discontent is most powerfully felt. Desire of wealth influences all citizens alike, but discontent animates one section or class of the community as opposed to the others. And lastly political and social causes tend to take men entirely away from their old homes; while commerce, though it leads, as has been said, to permanent settlements in foreign parts, yet, in bringing about such settlements, regards them as essentially offshoots from, and feeders of, the mother country.

The Greek colonies proper, as opposed to the tributary dependencies of the Greek States, sprang mainly from political or social causes; from over-population with its necessary consequence of discontent; or from the struggles between the political parties in the various cities, the bitterness of which was intensified by the narrow space within which the contending parties were cooped up. And the colonies, which originated in this source, were permanent settlements in foreign and more or less distant countries, such as in Asia Minor or Sicily, and were from first to last absolutely independent of the mother state. The generic name *ἀποικία* indicates that the main object of the founders of Greek colonies was simply to get away from their old homes.

Again, the origin of the earliest permanent English settlement on the mainland of America, the Virginian colony, may be traced to social causes¹: 'Virginia was the offspring

¹ Doyle's 'History of the English in America,' vol. i. chap. vi.

CHAPTER
II.



of economical distress as New England was of ecclesiastical conflicts.' And in our own time this same love of political or social independence is a most fruitful source of emigration ; as may be seen in the case of the Irish, who seek to exchange English rule for that of the United States, and look for a part of the world where there will be no rent to pay and no eviction to fear ; or in that of the Germans or the Basques, who leave their homes to escape the burden of military service.

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gion.

10. The connexion between religion and colonisation is a subject of the greatest historical interest ; but only a few illustrations can here be given, to show how powerful the religious motive has been, and in what different ways it has operated.

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lora-
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Colonisation includes exploration, conquest, and settlement : at each of these three stages religion has played an all-important part. It was the desire to promote the Christian faith, which stirred up the father of modern exploration, Prince Henry of Portugal, to send expeditions to search out the African coast. When Columbus turned his eyes to the New World, he had it in his mind to find a road to Jerusalem through the Indies and to lead a new Crusade. It was Champlain's aim, when exploring the backwoods of Canada, to work out the conversion of the Indian tribes and to open new fields for the spread of Christianity. And—to take one instance from later times—the life of Livingstone is a great record of missionary and explorer in one.

It is not wonderful that religion has been a fruitful parent of adventure. Men, who are fired by religious enthusiasm, think lightly of difficulties, which but for this impulse would be held insurmountable ; and the work of exploring what is vague and unknown is in harmony with a strong sense of the supernatural. While too often, it must be allowed, the end has been made to justify the means, and the holiness of

their aims has made explorers conveniently blind to the nature of the intermediate steps. CHAPTER
II.

11. After the explorer comes the conqueror, with the Cross or the Crescent for his banner ; and religion is seen to be a powerful incentive to the annexation of the newly found territories and to the subjection of their savage inhabitants. The record of the Mohammedan invasions, of the Crusades, and of countless other struggles, each one more revolting than another, shows that, throughout history, religion and war have gone hand in hand, and shows further that the work of invaders and conquerors has never been so terribly thorough as when undertaken in the name of religion. 2. to
conquest.

Among Christian sects, the Roman Catholic Church has in the past been the most militant and active. It has been better organised, more despotic, and perhaps more pliant than other religious bodies. And it may be that through its gorgeous ceremonial, it has been more successful than the less ostentatious Churches of Protestantism in impressing savage or half-civilised races, accustomed to associate religion with outward sights and sounds.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages its power was firmly established in Spain. In no country was its rule more implicitly obeyed ; and in none were its outward symbols more imposing or its organisation more complete. Further, at the time when Columbus sailed on his first voyage, the war with the Moors in Spain had just been brought to a successful issue, the Christian had finally triumphed over the infidel at home, and the Spanish government was burning with a desire to extend the field of its religious conquests, so that 'they might always be occupied in bringing infidels to the knowledge of the Holy Catholic faith¹.'

This religious element in the history of the Spaniards in America must always be borne in mind. It recalls the story

¹ See Helps' 'Spanish Conquest of America,' vol. i. bk. ii. chap. i.

APTER II. of the conquest of Canaan by the Chosen People; and it helps to explain the daring of the conquerors, the interest taken in the work by the home government, and the rapidity and energy with which lands were conquered as soon as found, and natives claimed as subjects, as if they and theirs were the lawful inheritance of a Christian power.

But it was not only the warlike Catholics of Spain, who were devoured with zeal for the conversion of the heathen: a similar spirit animated at least to some extent the first English colonisers of America.

The Virginia¹ Company placed this object in the forefront of their scheme, combined missionary and mercantile enterprise, and secured money and friends for the purpose of spreading the Christian religion among the heathen. Protestants indeed have not always behaved less vigorously than Roman Catholics in the matter of conversion. In the case of Ceylon, for instance, the Dutch, in whom years of struggle with the Inquisition at home had bred a spirit of counter-bigotry, are known to have imposed their religion upon the natives in a more arbitrary fashion than the Roman Catholic Portuguese, whom they superseded².

12. In the work of conquest then, in East and West alike, the influence of religion was in old days thrown on the side of the conquerors, giving a sanction even to slavery as a means of saving souls. But when the European had taken possession of the land of the heathen and held the people in subjection, and when the triumph of Christianity was no longer in doubt, the ministers of religion as a rule used their power for a better purpose, to check the excesses of the conquerors and enforce humane treatment of the natives. Spanish priests and friars in the West Indies did not shrink from exposing and, as far as in them lay, restraining the cruelty of their fellow-countrymen; and Jesuits, Moravians,

¹ See Doyle, 'English in America,' vol. i. chap. vi. p. 217.

² See Emerson Tennant's 'Christianity in Ceylon,' chap. ii.

Quakers, and others stood out in the East and West alike as friends and champions of the native races, and won from them the love and honour which they well deserved. Yet even under these circumstances the religious motive did not work entirely for good. In its Roman Catholic dress, at any rate, it stood in various parts of the world utterly against our ideas of liberty and independence. It inculcated kindliness to the natives, but kindliness as to inferior beings. The Guaranis in the Jesuit missions¹ of Paraguay were humanely treated, but what we call manly self-reliance was banished from among them. And in the East, if the Portuguese missionaries and notably the Jesuits, following in the steps of St. Francis Xavier, did much towards humanising and educating the natives of India, they appear on the other side to have offered little opposition to the abuses of the civil government, and to have used the influence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which centred at Goa, to rivet still firmer the chains of despotic rule.

13. Passing from exploration and conquest to settlement, religion is seen to have produced two distinct and almost opposite effects. On the one hand it has beyond all other causes led men to leave their homes and emigrate for good and all: on the other it has under certain circumstances proved a strong bond between the colony and the mother-country.

A good instance of the first effect is found in the emigration of the Huguenots from France to England, the Netherlands, and other Protestant parts of Europe, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The result of the persecution of the Protestants by the Catholic government of France was, that a large number of French citizens, preferring their religious belief to riches and even to home and country, permanently settled beyond the French borders.

In some cases it has been a barrier between the mother country and the colony.

¹ An account of these missions will be found in Helps' 'Spanish Conquest of America,' and in Watson's 'History of Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period.' See also Merivale's 'Lectures on Colonisation.'

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II.



and gradually became incorporated with foreign communities. This was a case of a body of people flying for refuge from persecution to neighbouring and civilised countries. The planting of the New England colonies, on the other hand, shows religion as having been sufficiently powerful to induce men to go forth into the wilderness, to an almost unknown world, and there to found a wholly new society wherein to worship in quietness the God of their fathers.¹ The Puritan settlers in New England were in great measure well-to-do men; they did not leave their homes on account of poverty. Nor was the land in which they settled one of great commercial promise. They left England mainly on religious grounds, and made up their minds to live and die in distant exile, because they feared God more than man.

*In others
it has been
a link
between
them.*

In these cases, as in many others, religion has been a separating force: but it may prove and often has proved a connecting link. For instance, almost the only tie between the Greek colonies and their mother-cities was a religious tie. The sacred fire was brought from the parent state to the colony and at the public festivals and sacrifices due honour was paid by the colonists to the city from which they or their fathers had emigrated, but to which they owed no political allegiance.

Again, one of the few bonds which kept the Spanish American colonies so long attached to Spain, in spite of the distance, the weakness, and the misgovernment of the mother-country, was the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

And if it was difference of religion which drove the Pilgrim Fathers from England to America, it may be said, on the other hand, that a general harmony in religious feeling has remained to this day as one among many links between Great Britain and the United States.

¹ Compare Seeley, 'Expansion of England,' Lecture VIII.

CHAPTER III.

CLIMATE AND RACE.

1. COLONISATION implies a place to be colonised and a people to colonise; and the good or ill success of colonies depends mainly on two factors, climate and race.

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*Different
climates
suit dif-
ferent races.*

Different races are of course suited to different climates. The negro thrives in a hot moist climate—on the coast of Guinea or in the West Indies; but he has no place in the colder zones. ‘Instead of deriving firmness and activity from the cold, he becomes inert, sluggish and languid¹;’ and so in Africa his home is between the tropics; and in the United States, while three-fifths of the whole population of South Carolina (according to the 1880 census), and more than one-half of that of Louisiana and Mississippi, are coloured, in the states of Maine, New York, or Massachusetts, the proportion of negroes to whites is less than two per cent.

The white man, on the contrary, has been set by nature in temperate latitudes; his bodily physique and his character alike deteriorate in the tropics; and if he be transplanted to some other climate than his own, experience has shown that he will bear a change to greater cold better than to greater heat.

¹ Bryan Edwards, ‘History of West Indies,’ bk. iv. chap. v. He is speaking of the condition of the negro in the chill of the morning. A colony of rebel slaves or Maroons from Jamaica was planted in Nova Scotia in 1795, but in 1800 they were removed to Sierra Leone—too soon to judge of the effects of the climate upon them.

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French and English emigrants, for instance, have thriven far more amid the snows of Canada than in the tropical West Indian islands. And a comparison of the branches of the European race, which have sent settlers to America, shows that, in the first instance, the Spaniards and Portuguese from the warm South of Europe settled and took root in Central and South America, whereas the French and English planted themselves mainly in the more northerly and colder part of the continent; and that, at the present day, the Italians head the list of immigrants into South America, while the Germans, Swedes, and Norwegians stream into the Northern districts of the United States.

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e people.*

2. And as different temperatures suit different races, so, to take the case of a single colonising people, it is this element of climate, which has mainly determined what kinds of colonies or dependencies have been formed in various quarters of the world.

A nation may explore or conquer in any climate, but it can make its home in some climates only, not in others. An Englishman's constitution may be able to stand a voyage to the North Pole on the one hand, or an expedition into the heart of the Soudan on the other; but Englishmen could not thrive, and breed, and bring up healthy children, either far within the Arctic circle or in Equatorial Africa or India. Consequently the differences in kind in the English dependencies vary in great measure with the differences in climate.

Compare, for instance, three different parts of the English empire: the West Africa Settlements, India, and Australia. West Africa is a part of the world where, on account of climatic causes, it is almost impossible for an Englishman to take up his residence for any length of time without injury to his health; it has been found necessary to grant leave of absence to the civil officers in the service at more frequent intervals than in the case of other tropical or semi-tropical dependencies, and to send them constantly to Madeira or to

England for change of air; and no white troops are employed on the coast, which is garrisoned by the coloured West India regiments¹. In short, experience has shown that the average Englishman not only cannot make his home in West Africa, but cannot live there at all for any prolonged time; and English colonisation in this part of the world amounts to nothing more than keeping a supervision over a certain part of the fever-stricken West African coast, for purposes partly commercial, partly philanthropic.

As compared with Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, India has a climate fairly healthy for Europeans: consequently it can be garrisoned to a great extent by English troops; and Englishmen can live in the country, engage in trade, and practise their professions for years at a time, without materially suffering in health. But here again there is a limit: hardly any Englishman can settle down in India for a perpetuity; English children, born in the hot climate of the East, deteriorate in morale and physique unless they are sent to Europe at a certain age; and if a man goes out from England to India, he does so meaning to come home sooner or later. Consequently, while the English have been able for generations to hold India as a military dependency, and have not been compelled to content themselves with a few isolated positions, or an indefinite protectorate along the coast, but have established a system of order and administration throughout the length and breadth of the great peninsula; yet the greater part of India is not, and, as far as can be judged, never will be a home for Englishmen.

The case of Australia is widely different. Here, except in the tropical northern districts, the English race can find a permanent resting-place. Consequently there is a constant stream of emigration flowing from Great Britain to the Australian colonies; a new England is springing up at the Antipodes; English farmers are planted throughout the

¹ They are of course officered by Englishmen.

APTER country ; and towns like Sydney and Melbourne reproduce to
 III. the full the vigour and activity of our own great cities.

3. It is clear then that climate decides where a race can and
 where it cannot endure. But, for colonising, a race requires
 certain special qualifications ; and, as these qualifications are
 not found all combined in a single breed, it follows that
 differences in national character, like differences in climate,
 have led and will lead to the formation of various kinds of
 dependencies.

A race, to be able to colonise, must in the first place
 be one of strong physique, multiplying and reproductive,
 formed by nature to spread and expand over a larger area
 than its original home.

Taking in this connexion the broadest division of mankind,
 it is seen that the white race, which in historical times
 has done by far the most colonising work in the world,
 possesses apparently greater stamina and more power of ex-
 pansion than the coloured races. Though it does not thrive
 in some climates as it does in others, yet there is hardly
 any part of the world where it has not secured and
 maintained some kind of foothold. Europe has for many
 generations overflowed into the other continents, whereas the
 coloured races make little or no show in Europe. The negro
 remains within certain limits even in Africa : and the Chinese,
 who are far the strongest and the most expansive of the non-
 Aryan races, and who seem to be in great measure impervious
 to the effects of climate, have as yet (partly no doubt from
 political causes) but touched upon the borders of the white
 man's new home in California and the Australian colonies.

Among the branches of the white race again, the inhabi-
 tants of Great Britain distinctly come first in the field of
 colonisation ; and, as Professor Seeley has pointed out, one
 great speciality of the English people, as far as modern
 history is concerned, has been 'unparalleled expansion'.

¹ 'Expansion of England,' part ii. Lecture VIII, end.

It would be superfluous to multiply illustrations of this well-known fact. Between 1851 and 1881 the population of England and Wales rose from 18 millions to 26 millions: at the same time (between the years 1853 and 1883) nearly 1,400,000 English and Welsh emigrated to the United States alone¹. Year after year the area of English colonisation has been widening in Canada, in Australia, and in South Africa. And a reference to the last census of the United States will show how the English-speaking race, which a hundred years ago was to be found only along the Atlantic coast², has now spread from sea to sea.

4. In addition to physical endurance and reproductive power, however, there are some more special colonising qualities to be noticed.

Colonisation, as has been seen, includes exploration, conquest and settlement. A colonising race, therefore, may be expected to have one or more of the following characteristics; to be enterprising, commercial, inclined to emigrate and form new settlements, to be a warlike and conquering race, to be able to assimilate with other races, and, lastly, to be able to govern. And according as different qualities have predominated in a particular race or nationality, so its part in the history of colonisation will be found to bear a special impress.

5. To take the first of these six characteristics. A mixed race is usually progressive and enterprising.

Compare the English and Chinese, the former a breed composed of various elements, the latter comparatively pure and unalloyed. The English have, as the saying is, moved with the age, and adapted themselves to change of time and circumstance. The Chinese, on the contrary, while they have

2. Certain special qualities. Six characteristics of colonising races.

1. Enterprize. Mixed breeds are enterprising.

¹ Excluding Scotch and Irish: the figures are taken from the 'Statesman's Year Book.'

² See the United States census for 1880. This is a splendid publication, showing by a series of maps the progress of population since the first census, taken in 1790.

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multiplied and emigrated, have yet remained for centuries in the same intellectual groove : their government is at present as pedantic as ever it was ; their mode of administration and their forms of justice remain unchanged. If they do not exclude foreigners, it is only because they have been forced to admit them ; and the presence of Europeans in China has had little effect upon the ways and customs of the people. In 1876 a railway was laid by a European company for a few miles from Shanghai ; but it had not been working many months, when it was bought up and taken over by the Chinese government, and the lines were torn up again.

Or take the case of Spain. At the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, the Spaniards were, with the Portuguese, the most forward and enterprising people in Europe. They are now among the most backward and reactionary of European nations. The Spanish breed was originally a very mixed one : Iberians, Celts, Phoenicians, Romans, Goths, Vandals, and Moors contributed to it. But, as soon as the nation really came into existence, a policy of exclusion was begun, and was thenceforward steadily carried on. Men with new and progressive ideas were proscribed, heretics were stamped out, Jews were expelled, the Moors were driven out wholesale, and at the present day Spain contains fewer residents of foreign birth than most other countries of Europe. So it would seem that, as the country became more exclusive and the breed less alloyed, the spirit of enterprise gradually died away¹.

*As also
maritime
peoples.*

6. As a seagoing race is ever enterprising and adventurous, and as the ocean is the great high road between the various parts of the earth, the work of colonisation both in ancient and modern ages has been carried on mainly by the sea : and but few colonising peoples, from the time of the Phoenicians to that of the English, have been outside the

¹ The 'Statesman's Year Book' says that, according to the 1877 census, there were then only 26,834 resident foreigners in Spain.

category of maritime nations. It is true that the great movements of barbarians from Asia to Europe; and invasions, such as those of the Saracens and Turks, may be given as instances of migration by land: but transplantations of whole races, and great waves of invasion, can hardly be classed under the head of colonisation; and at any rate it may be safely said that, with two exceptions, the peoples of Europe have colonised by sea rather than by land; those exceptions being two great military nations, viz. the Romans in ancient times and the Russians in our own.

.7. There is no feature more striking in the history of colonisation than the amount of work done by small nations, as for instance the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and others. *And small states.*

This has been in part due to the element of restlessness, arising from over-population; but it has also been the result of the vigour and independence, which so often characterizes small states, and which leads naturally to emigration and the formation of colonies. The life of little communities is in many respects more vigorous than that of great empires: where the area of the country is limited and the population small, each individual is of importance, and takes an active part in public life; whereas in a great nation single citizens are too often lost in the mass and never develop independence of thought and action.

To take one instance only; individual life had far more play in the little States of ancient Greece, than can possibly be the case in the large nationalities of the present day; consequently the single city of Athens produced a series of great men which perhaps has never been equalled; and the influence of Greek character, Greek literature, and Greek art on the world in general has been out of all proportion to the numbers of the Greek race and the size of their communities.

8. It is a sign of an enterprising race to owe its colonies to private effort, independent of the state. At the outset of modern

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the most
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evidence.

colonisation, Spanish, Portuguese, and French explorers were individually at least as daring and as adventurous as English: but the ordinary Spaniard or Portuguese or Frenchman had not the same power of private initiative as the ordinary Englishman. And if the work done by the English nation has in the end proved to be of better quality and more lasting character, than that of other peoples; if the English succeeded in India, while the Portuguese failed; if British America has prospered, while Spanish America has not; if the United States grew and developed out of all proportion to the French colony in Canada; one great reason for the difference seems to be, that the members of the English-speaking race, as compared with other races, have throughout its history, both at home and abroad, relied not so much on their government as on themselves.

*Aptitude
for trading.*

9. But little need be said of the commercial spirit to supplement the allusions made to it in the last chapter. Commerce, it has been seen, as opposed to adventure pure and simple, tends to forming permanent colonies. The Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, and the Greeks, in ancient times stand out as instances of trading peoples which have colonised; while modern history points to the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English.

Trading on a large scale must be carried on by means of companies: and it is worth noticing that, while the Spaniards up to a certain point, and the Portuguese in a far greater degree, could lay claim to being placed in the list of commercial peoples, they did not adopt the system of chartered companies¹, which was so universal among the Dutch and English, but allowed the Crown to be the great monopolist. In other words history shows that the trader spirit has not been so deeply implanted in the Latin as in the Teuton races; and if the Dutch and English have borne the

¹ The Portuguese government, however, as shown elsewhere, in later years gave charters to companies in connexion with Brazil.

impress of merchants to a greater extent than their southern rivals, certainly as colonisers they can show a more successful record.

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10. But a people or race may be commercial, without being inclined permanently to emigrate and settle away from home. The Dutch are a case in point. Though their country is small, they have not felt the pressure of overpopulation: consequently while they have formed and held colonies, and have from time to time sent out a certain number of emigrants, as for instance to South Africa and the United States, they have not been a settling race to the same extent as some other European peoples¹: and considering what a high place they have taken among colonising nations, they have done singularly little in leavening the population of the world.

3. *Readiness to emigrate.*

The Spaniards in Central and South America, the English in North America and Australasia, the Germans and Irish in the United States, are instances of races which have shown a readiness to go out from the land of their fathers, and to make their homes in a foreign country. Of course at any given time there must be some particular motive to induce people to emigrate, as has been seen in the last chapter; but, independently of special causes which operate at special times, some races have clearly proved themselves to be more ready than others to leave home, and, having left, to be less inclined to return. Not that such peoples are more restless or less homeloving than others: no one would accuse the Germans of being indifferent to their fatherland, or the English of being a nomad and homeless race: but they have the strength to carry their homes and associations with them across the seas; and rather to widen the original area of their respective nationalities, than to lose themselves in foreign lands.

¹ This is pointed out in Heeren's 'Political System of Europe and its Colonies,' Tr. vol. i. par. 1, p. 1: in Merivale's 'Lectures on Colonisation,' Lecture II, etc.

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III.Capacity
fighting.

11. It has been pointed out, however, that people rarely if ever settle in an absolutely uninhabited country: and this is especially true in these later days, when most of the good land in the world has been already occupied. Consequently we look for colonising races to have the further qualities which have been enumerated: they should be able to fight and conquer, to assimilate with others, and to govern.

A race may be a colonising race, in the sense of emigrating and settling, without having any element of the conqueror in it. The Chinese and the Jews, for instance, have emigrated in numbers to foreign countries, and the latter at any rate have, beyond all races, made their home in other lands than their own: but there have been practically no Chinese or Jewish colonies, in the sense that there have been Greek or Spanish or English, i.e. in the sense of distinct settlements, planted either as independent states or as dependencies of the mother country.

All the great colonising peoples, in the ordinary sense of the word, except perhaps the Phœnicians, have had some conquering instinct in them. Even the Greeks, who formed isolated settlements rather than colonial empires, and who were utterly weakened by subdivision into small states, showed by their history—a history of constantly successful struggle against overwhelmingly larger numbers of barbarian foes—that they knew how to fight and conquer if not how to govern. And even the Dutch, who were in character unaggressive traders, became in the course of their history one of the first military nations in the world; and their descendants, the South African Boers, have but lately given evidence of having inherited fine fighting qualities.

Power of
assimila-
tion.

12. Conquest however is a temporary matter only; the colonisation of an uninhabited country may begin with conquering, but it requires in addition some element of greater permanence. This is found in the two remaining characteristics of colonising races, power of assimilation, and capacity for

government. It is not difficult for a strong nation to subdue a savage tribe or people: the difficulty comes later and consists in finding a *modus vivendi* between the conquerors and the conquered. It is comparatively easy to extend English conquests in South Africa, and annex fresh square miles of territory; but the difficulty of teaching English, Dutch, and natives to live side by side has at present proved almost insurmountable. Here then a race which can adapt itself to others has a great advantage; while even at the earlier, the conquering stage, the power of assimilation has been shown in history to be of the greatest value.

The Spaniards, for instance, were notably helped in their conquest of America by the facility with which they intermixed with the natives; and it is matter of story how much Cortes was helped in his Mexican campaigns by his Indian mistress and interpreter Marina¹.

The French afford a still more striking instance of the influence which attaches to a race, ready to adopt the customs and manners of the natives of the country, or to find means of engrafting upon the latter their own civilisation. In Canada, we read of Champlain spending his life in great measure in the Indian lodges; and of a later French governor, de Frontenac, taking part in the savage rites of the Indians, and joining in the war dance. And in the East Indies, when French and English were striving for the mastery, Dupleix not only converted himself for the time being into an Oriental prince, but achieved the more difficult feat of habituating the natives to the discipline and drill of European soldiers, showing thereby the way by which a few Europeans might conquer and hold a great Eastern empire².

¹ See Prescott's 'Conquest of Mexico.'

² See what is said on this point in Seeley's 'Expansion of England,' Part ii. Lecture III. The success of the East India Company was largely due in parts of India to intermarriage of officials with native ladies. See Meadows Taylor's Life.

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Among ancient peoples the Greeks were pre-eminent for power of assimilation¹: and Juvenal's well-known line reminds us that they became a proverb for their power of accommodating themselves to all conditions of life. They were also equally successful in impressing their influence on other countries and races. While the Romans became politically the masters of the ancient world, 'Victorious Rome,' to quote Gibbon's words adapted from Horace, 'was herself subdued by the arts of Greece'². And throughout Eastern Europe, in Asia Minor, in Syria and in Egypt, the Greek language, Greek manners and Greek civilisation held the field.

In modern Europe the Latin races have clearly shown, in settling as in conquering, that they possess this quality to a greater extent than the Teuton. Indeed the English difficulties in South Africa may be traced in no small degree to want of capacity for assimilation on the part of the English and Dutch races.

But there is a possible drawback to this power of assimilation: it lies in this, that the colonising race may in time be merged in the lower native race, and become degraded in its new home. This has been the case with the Spanish in America: the Spaniard has in course of years rather become assimilated to the Indian than the Indian to the Spaniard; a mixed race has sprung up of lower type than that of the original immigrant; and the final result, as seen in the South American states, compares unfavourably with that which has been produced in other cases, where the incoming race has, as in North America, shown less adaptability to and less inclination to mix with the native inhabitants of the country.

6. *Capacity
for ruling.*

13. The last and most important characteristic to be looked for in colonising races is the power of governing. It is a quality which would seem to be found more especially among peoples which are deficient in capacity for assimilation; a ruler must

¹ 'Graeculus esuriens ad caelum, jusseris, ibit.'

² Chapter II.

possess strength of character, and strength of character is not often compatible with flexibility. The Romans in ancient, the English in modern times stand out above all peoples for having built up and maintained a great empire of Colonies and dependencies. There was little power of assimilation in the Romans, and there is little in the English; but in the character of both nations might be traced a strong leaning to system, a strong love of justice and law, and some idea of governing for the sake of the governed.

Aristotle says of the Spartans that 'warring was their salvation but governing their ruin'¹. These words apply to many nations which have once been great, and the secret of whose decay has been their inability to rule. They are eminently true of half-barbaric races like the Turks; and they might be written on the title-page of Spanish and Portuguese history. Colonising on any large scale must imply dealing with subject races; and the past has shown that, in spite of other defects, the people which can govern will in the end prevail.

¹ Politics, ii. 9, ἐσώζονται μὲν πολεμοῦντες ἀπώλλονται δὲ ἄρξαντες.

CHAPTER IV.

MODES OF COLONISING AND KINDS OF COLONISTS.

CHAPTER IV.

*Three
modes of
colonising.*

*1. By individuals,
they have
generally
been protected by
the state.*

1. Colonisation can be carried out by individual apart from the state, by the state itself, or by private enterprise aided by the state.

There is no need to repeat examples of the first of the three methods of colonising. Many instances might be given, such as the ancient Greek colonies, the earliest the Puritan settlements in America, and others. But it is worth while to point out that in any case there must be some association of persons to make a colony; and that when companies have been deliberately formed to promote a scheme of colonisation, they have generally, if not always, been to some extent protected and privileged by the state. While Robinson Crusoe lived alone, and even after he was joined by Friday, he can scarcely be said to have colonised his island. Colonisation began with the arrival of the Spaniards, and of Will Atkins and his comrades. If there had been no deliberate formation of a colonising company, if there had been, Crusoe would probably have sought to obtain a charter from the English government: and, as things were, supposing the romance to have been turned into history, Crusoe's island would doubtless soon have come under the wing of the state.

The mutineers of the *Bounty* who settled in Pitcairn island, may be quoted as an instance of deliberate colonisation, unaided by the state. But in the first place it is clear that this settlement was far removed from a careful

planned, businesslike scheme of colonising; and in the second place it will be remembered that as years have gone on, the Pitcairn islanders have received at least indirect encouragement and protection from the English government.

The Welsh settlement on the Chupat river in Patagonia is an interesting example of voluntary association of private individuals for purposes of colonisation. Yet even in this scheme the signs of state interference have been clear and unmistakeable¹. The promoters obtained permission from the government of the Argentine republic to plant a colony within their borders: the settlers received formal grants of land, and, at the outset, pecuniary assistance from that government: and of late years the district has been brought more directly under the supervision of the Argentine authorities. Further, the visits, which have been periodically paid to the colony by one or other of H. M. ships, have shown the interest hitherto taken by the English government in a body of settlers who have gone out from Great Britain.

2. The second mode of colonisation, viz. directly by the state, needs also no special illustration. It has been seen that among some races Government is more ubiquitous than among others. And it is clear, that in any case of a colonial empire, of a system in which colonies proper and subject dependencies are intermixed, much must be due to the direct action of the state in securing the possessions in the first instance, and still more in subsequently consolidating and ruling them. To take examples from the English empire only; the government of this country acquired Canada by force of arms, it occupied Cyprus under

2. By the State.

¹ Reference to the founding of this settlement in 1865 is made in the report on the Argentine Republic for 1865 made by Mr. Ford, then Secretary of legation at Buenos Ayres, and dated 30 Oct. 1866. It was presented to Parliament in 1867. Periodical reports on this settlement are forwarded to the Admiralty by the commanders of the ships sent to visit it.

CHAPTER
IV.3. *By char-
tered com-
panies.*

treaty with another government, and it secured Austral
planting in it a purely state colony.

3. There remains the third mode of colonisation, in
the work is done by private individuals, deliberately assist
government. Such assistance has usually taken the fo
granting monopolies of land or trade. Charters have
given sometimes to one or more proprietors, as in the
of Lord Baltimore or William Penn, proprietors of Mar
and Pennsylvania respectively: sometimes to a com
such as the Virginia or East India company. Comp
of this kind, as has been seen, played comparatively
part in Spanish or Portuguese colonisation; wherea
history of the Dutch and English in the East is in
measure the history of the Dutch and English East
companies, a history showing how a body of merchant
develop into conquerors and rulers.

The object with which such companies are formed,
course mainly commercial. Consequently any colo
work done by them is likely to be sound, systematic
practical, directed almost entirely to making a profit.
are not liable like individual men to have their oper
interrupted by death¹; and they run less risk than the
of being taken in by their agents, partly because they
a sharper eye on their own interests, partly because to
government has for some reason or other always
considered to be less criminal than to cheat private empl
On the other hand a company as such has little c
conscience. In its dealings with natives the ide
governing for the sake of the governed is as a rul
faintly present; and men of the type of Clive and W
Hastings find that all lofty schemes of governmen
empire must give way to the one main object of g
good dividends for the shareholders. Companies can ex

¹ This is clearly pointed out as to the East India Comp.
Ransome's lectures on 'our colonies and India,' Lecture III.

trade, and conquer with success, but the work of governing finds out their weak points; and Adam Smith's verdict upon them is, that 'the government of an exclusive company of merchants is perhaps the worst of all governments for any country whatever'¹.

4. The material out of which a colony is formed, i. e. its population, consists of natives, where there are native inhabitants, as is usually the case; and of immigrants. *Classes of inhabitants in a colony.*

If the number of natives is largely in excess of that of the immigrants, the result is a subject dependency. If the native element is insignificant, the community approaches more and more nearly to a colony proper. *1. natives.*

The position, which the natives hold, depends partly on themselves, partly on the incoming people. Their own breed may be physically weak, incapable of amalgamating, and, when brought into contact with a higher race, doomed to stand still if not to decay. Such seems to be the case with the North American Indians. Or they may be a strong breed, like the negro or Chinese, holding their own with the white man, even if they do not adapt themselves to his civilisation. On the other hand, the treatment of the native by the immigrant race will vary with the national character of the latter, with the institutions and form of government under which it has been trained, and with the time at which the immigration takes place. The history of colonisation shows the native races in almost every kind of status: as slaves pure and simple; such was their condition in the West Indies and in Brazil, in the early days of Spanish and Portuguese invasion: as minors in the eye of the law²; this was the position assigned by the Spanish government to its American subjects: as possessed of full civil but of few or no political rights; this is the case with the millions of *Causes which lead to their good or bad treatment.*

¹ 'Wealth of Nations,' chapter on 'Causes of prosperity of new colonies.'

² See the references given on this point in chap. vi.

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Hindoos and Tamils, who are under the British government : and finally as taking their place, like the New Zealand Maoris, in a representative colonial parliament.

In considering the treatment of natives in countries where white men have established themselves, it is not easy to say that one European people has shown itself to be more cruel by nature than another. The worst cruelties of the Spaniards were at times rivalled by the atrocities recorded of English adventurers ; and the Spanish government was notably humane in its regulations for the protection of the Indians.

But it can safely be said that the spirit of humanity has grown faster in one nation than in another. The English of the present generation would not tolerate bull-baiting at home or slavery in the colonies ; whereas our grandfathers flocked to bull-baits and to cock-fights, made large fortunes out of slave plantations, and looked on the slave trade as a legitimate branch of business.

Further, the sense of justice and law, which seems to be more ingrained in some races than in others, gradually reappears in the new country among the emigrants from the old. This sense is nurtured or repressed by the institutions under which a people has grown up : and therefore the treatment which is dealt out to the native races, with which the colonists come into contact, depends in great measure upon the nature of these institutions.

If a race has long been habituated to despotism, its members are more likely to tyrannise in their turn than the citizens of a self-governing state : and men who have been trained to responsibility at home are best fitted to exercise rule abroad. It seems hard to suppose that a Spaniard, brought up under the government of Philip the Second, could be a respecter of the rights and liberties and privileges of other men to the same extent as a follower of Pym and Hampden.

There is always a danger, however, in a subject dependency with a large native population, that the dominant minority of the foreign race, backed as they are by the strength of the mother country, will lose to some extent their respect for law and justice. And they need for a while at least to be held in check by the home government.

Englishmen in England are among equals: they are no better and no worse than their neighbours of the same breed and colour. In the East, on the contrary, they are recognised by the natives as a ruling caste; they are expected to command, and find that they are implicitly obeyed. Under such circumstances it is impossible that a consciousness of physical and moral superiority should not breed a certain amount of arrogance, and that the Englishman in India should not be more overbearing than he is at home.

The safeguard of native races, then, in a colonial empire, the centre of which is far distant from the outlying provinces, is found in the existence of a strong public opinion at home, and in the retention by the home government of the power to protect their native subjects, equally with their own citizens, until the time has come for the two classes to be placed on the same footing. In South Africa, it has been found more to the interest of the native races to keep their special districts under Imperial control, in certain cases, than to hand them over to a colonial government. And in the East, where settlers are few and natives are many, the English possessions are all Crown colonies, and the administration is directed and controlled from home.

5. There are, or have been in the past, three divisions of the immigrant population in colonies:—free settlers; *Three classes of immigrants*—slaves (a class now nearly extinct in European colonies); and *grants*. those settlers, whose position is one of more or less modified dependence, such as convicts on the one hand, and indentured coolies on the other.

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1st class.

*Free
settlers.*

6. In considering the first class, it must be remembered especially in conquered dependencies, the free immigrants are often only temporary residents, partly civil and officers, partly merchants and professional men, who come to the colony for a term of years only, short as the case may be: and also that in all containing a native population there arises, as yet on, a class of citizens formed by the intermixture of incomers and the natives—a class, which in some cases as for instance in parts of South America, eventually becomes a most important element in the community¹.

And even if temporary residents and half-breeds are excluded, it is difficult to make such a classification of free settlers in a colony, as will serve any useful purpose.

*They may
be classified
on the basis
of Heeren's
division of
colonies.*

Heeren² divides colonies into four classes, *agricultural, plantation, mining, and trading colonies*.

This division is hardly applicable to colonies of the present day. It would, for instance, be difficult to place any one of the Australian colonies under a single class. Judged by her chief export, wool, Victoria is an agricultural colony: but the amount of gold raised from her mines places her at the same time high in the list of mining colonies: and the fact that half the Victorian population lives in the towns entitles her to a front place as a trading colony. If New South Wales is rich in flocks and she is rich also in coal and other minerals. And Queensland adds sugar plantations to pastoral and mining enterprises.

But if the list is hardly a satisfactory classification of colonies, it serves as a description, though not an explanation, of the different kinds of colonist.

¹ The 'Mestizoes' or Spanish Indian half-breeds, form a large portion of the South American population, varying in the different countries, but it is difficult to find any accurate figures on the subject.

² 'Political System of Europe and its Colonies,' chapter 1 of Colonies.

Where colonisation has been uniform and systematic, spreading gradually through the new country, along its rivers and channels of communication; not massing the population in large numbers at a few points only, nor on the other hand allowing the families to straggle out of reach of one another; there it may be taken that the settlers are agriculturists of the type of the New England farmers. CHAPTER
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Agriculturists.

7. Planters on the other hand settle on large estates, more or less isolated from each other, employing capital and labour (till of late mainly slave labour) on a large scale, in producing articles of export for foreign markets: such are the coffee and tea planters of India and Ceylon, the sugar planters of the West Indies, or the cotton growers of the Southern states of America. *Planters.*

The *pastoral* class is not specified in Heeren's list; and yet the members of this class play an important part in the colonisation of new countries, as the Australian sheep farmers, for instance, or the owners of cattle ranches in Texas. They live at least as isolated a life as the planters; but, not requiring to command the same amount of labour, they do not contribute, as large plantations do, to bring about an oligarchical state of society. *Sheep and cattle farmers.*

Plantation life is the extreme of country life; the opposite pole is found in mining colonies, where the miners are European colonists or the descendants of Europeans. In them, population gathers densely at a few spots, in the midst, it may be, of a wilderness; the life is rather town than country life; the growth of numbers¹ is at a rate unknown in the more steady-going agricultural colonies; and the character of the colonists, as compared with that of the farmer or planter, is restless, pushing, and democratic. *Miners.*

8. The report of the last (1880) census of the United

¹ Heeren remarks on mining colonies that 'they cannot as mere mining colonies ever attain to much population,' but his words apply to the Peruvian mines worked in old days by forced labour.

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States will well illustrate the different growth of population in agricultural and mining districts. In the more rural state of Utah, the spread is shown to be steady and uniform; while in Colorado the discovery of minerals brings a sudden influx of population. Similarly the discovery of the gold mines in Victoria brought about a sudden increase in the rate, and a change in the distribution of the character of the population, making this the most densely populated and the most democratic part of Australia. In Brazil, the mining provinces have attracted the numbers, and, at any rate in past years, the most restless and turbulent members of the community. And in Africa, the discovery of the diamond fields has reared up a populous town in the midst of a dusty desert.

Traders.

The term 'trader' is so wide as to include the most diverse elements of society. Under this head may be gathered on the one hand, merchants, who centre in the towns, and people generally; and, on the other, roving dealers, like the fur-traders of Canada in old days, have no fixed abode but spend their lives on or beyond the borders of the continent. Traders are found everywhere, in the heart of central Africa as in the heart of London: but, as specific trading colonies, Heeren would presumably have instanced Carthaginian depôts, planted in old days on the western coasts of the Mediterranean. And, in the present century, a station as Hongkong may, apart from its military character, well be styled a trading colony; it has no agricultural or mining or plantation resources of its own, but owes its prosperity entirely to the vast trade between China and Europe, which passes through its port.

The classes of free colonist might be indefinitely multiplied and subdivided; and it might be pointed out at length that one kind of settler is to be found in one climate rather than in another, as for instance the planters and their products belong specially to tropical or sub-tropical regions.

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rather than with their settlements in the old. Further, the system was called for, and prospered, only in the tropical, or at least the hotter, parts of America; in the Southern states of North America, in South America, and in the West Indies.

The plantation colonies were those in which slaves were most numerous and where the system was most fully developed. The negro labourer was found to be stronger than the native; and, coming from tropical Africa, he was able to work in a climate, in which the physique of the white man deteriorated. Slave labour too was adapted to the cultivation of the plantation products, tobacco, cotton, sugar and others, which required quantity of labour rather than quality; and as a greater extent of soil was appropriated to these crops, so the area of slavery increased. The introduction of sugar-growing into Barbados, and the other West Indian Islands, was followed by an increase in the proportion of slaves to free inhabitants; and the acquisition of new territory in the United States caused a constant demand for a further extension of the slave system.

Slavery was suited to an aristocratic state of society; and indeed a community, where it exists, must necessarily be aristocratic: consequently the growth of a true democracy and of the modern democratic spirit was opposed to it. The importation of slaves was forced upon the democratic English colonies on the continent of America by the home government against their will; and, after the Declaration of Independence, it was resolved, that no more slaves should be imported into any of the thirteen United States. The Revolution in France was followed by emancipation in the French Colony of St. Domingo. The Spanish American republics abolished slavery, while the mother country, from which they revolted, continued to sanction it. If emancipation in the West Indies was finally forced on by the English government; it was because England had become more democratic and more

progressive than her West Indian colonies. And if the slave system long held out in the Republic of the United States; it must be remembered that it survived only in the aristocratic Southern provinces, and that it was finally and forcibly put down by the Republicans of the North.

Similarly it has been the democratic religions which have most strongly opposed the institution of slavery, and the loudest protests against it have been those of Puritans and Quakers.

It has already been pointed out that it is difficult, consistently with historical accuracy, to brand any one race as being naturally more cruel than another. The nations of Europe have, one and all alike, to bear the reproach of having participated in the iniquity of slavery and the slave-trade. If the Portuguese, from being the first in the field on the West coast of Africa, were the originators of the traffic¹; the Dutch are said to have imported the first cargo of slaves into the United States; and the English eventually claimed the monopoly of slave-trading, and worked it to the exclusion of other nations.

The laws relating to slavery were more inhuman and severe in the English and French than in the Spanish colonies²; and the Spanish planters in past times compared favourably with other Europeans in the treatment of their slaves. In later days, on the other hand, the Northern peoples of Europe claim the credit for the good work of abolishing the slave-trade and slavery of every description; the Danes, according to Heeren, having been the first to declare against the traffic in the case of their own dependencies³: and slavery now lingers only in the colonies of the Latin races, in the Spanish dependency of Cuba, and in the empire of Brazil.

Most people at the present day think of slavery, in civilised countries, as belonging to the distant past: but if we

¹ In 1620.² See reference given in chap. vi.³ In 1792.

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remember, that it has only within the memory of living man ceased to be an integral element in the social system of America and the West Indies; that it has not yet entirely died out in Cuba and Brazil; that it prevails throughout a great part of Asia, and the greatest part of Africa; and that it lingers still in Turkey and Egypt; it will be seen at once how deeply rooted has been the evil, how gradual has been its abolition, and how modern is the belief, that to buy and sell men and women is an iniquity in the sight of God and man.

3rd class.
a. Convicts.

10. The feeling against slavery is based on moral grounds. Slavery is now held by most civilised men to be absolutely wrong at all times and under all circumstances. But when we turn to consider the class of criminals and convicts, who have also played an important part in colonisation, the same reasoning does not apply. The objection to a system of transportation is relative to the conditions under which it is carried out. Bacon¹, it is true, lays down that "it is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant: and not only so but it spoileth the plantation: for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy and do mischief and spend victuals and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation:" but it is clear that a statement of this kind is too general, and requires considerable modification. In itself, there is nothing immoral in disposing of criminals in one locality rather than in another. The question of right or wrong depends upon the particular circumstances of time and place. It must be wrong to ship men off, by way of punishment, however criminal, to a hopelessly unhealthy climate, such as Cayenne², where the French have established a penal

¹ 'Essay on Plantations.'

² The French have for more than twenty years, however, sent to Cayenne not European but coloured convicts from their colonial dependencies.

settlement. It is wrong to place them where they will infect the native inhabitants, or where there is a large population of honest settlers, who object to having their colony made the receptacle of the off-scourings of the mother country. And it is wrong again to place them where they will not be under proper control, or where their treatment cannot be scrutinised and checked by public opinion. As a matter of fact, one or other of these drawbacks must always exist; and hence the feeling of the time, at least in England, has become more and more opposed, and rightly so, to any system of transportation. But, in the abstract¹, there is something to be said for the theory, that the criminal outcast of civilised society is likely to develop some form of usefulness in less civilised surroundings. The ablest and most energetic of the Brazilians, the Paulistas, sprang in part from convict stock: and Darwin's judgment on the results of transportation to the Australian colonies deserves always to be borne in mind². Writing of his visit to Tasmania, in 1836, he says, in an often quoted passage: "On the whole as a place of punishment the object is scarcely gained: as a real system of reform it has failed as perhaps would every other plan. But as a means of making men outwardly honest, of converting vagabonds most useless in one hemisphere into active citizens of another, and thus giving birth to a new and splendid country, a grand centre of civilisation, it has succeeded to a degree perhaps unparalleled in history." And if any regular system of transportation to English colonies can now no longer be defended, little can be said against the humanity of sending out child-criminals, under due precautions, not to undergo penal sentences abroad, but to try and start a new life away from their old and bad associations.

In treating of the subject of criminals as material for forming a colony, it must be remembered, in the first place,

¹ See Bordier, '*Colonisation Scientifique*.'

² '*Voyage of the Beagle*,' chap. xiii.

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that it was not easy in old times to induce men to leave their homes and cross the seas, except for some pressing motive of poverty or crime. Accordingly prisoners were supplied to Frobisher and Cartier¹, by the English and French governments respectively, to enable them to carry on their exploring and colonising work in North America. And earlier still, in 1497², the Spanish government issued two edicts, one allowing judicial transportation of criminals to the West Indies, and the other giving indulgence to criminals, with certain exceptions, on condition of their going out to Hispaniola at their own expense, to serve for a specified time under Columbus.

It must be borne in mind too that the class which we are considering included in past times many besides the ordinary felon. Under this head must be placed colonists, whose only crime in the mother country was their poverty: such were the men whom Oglethorpe took out to Georgia from the debtors' prisons in England. The list comprises also religious and political offenders, whom the government of the day found it convenient to ship off beyond the seas. For instance, among the earliest colonists of Brazil were a number of Jews, whom the Portuguese government, in obedience to the calls of the Inquisition, transported together with a herd of common convicts. And English political malcontents were despatched, by Cromwell at one time, and James the Second at another, to the North American and West Indian colonies.

The Spanish edict, referred to above, authorised transportation as a punishment for crime; and the Portuguese marked out their Brazilian possessions to be a special receptacle for convicts. But England seems to have been the first country³ to institute a definite and regular system of transporting convicted felons. And the record of the years,

¹ See Doyle's 'English in America,' vol. i. chap. iv. and v.

² See Helps' 'Conquest of America,' bk. ii. chap. ii.

³ See Lewis, 'Government of Dependencies,' chap. vi.

during which the system was in force, shows that the merits of the question must, as has been already stated, be considered in relation to the particular conditions of time and place.

Convicts have from time to time been sent to various English dependencies, for instance to Gibraltar and Bermuda. And certain colonies, as Sierra Leone and the Cape, have been intended to receive penal settlements, (the project having been abandoned in the case of Sierra Leone owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, and in that of the Cape on account of the opposition of the colonists). But it is with Australia that the history of transportation has been mainly connected.

After the American colonies had declared their independence, it was determined to send convicts to Australia, partly because they could no longer be sent to the United States, and partly because it was considered necessary to ratify the English claim to the Australian continent by planting a colony on its shores. And as it was difficult to find men who were ready of their own free will to emigrate to a distant and practically unknown land, the government determined to provide the services of involuntary colonists.

The first batch of convicts was sent to New South Wales in 1787, the last consignment to Western Australia was despatched in 1867; and the history of the intervening period shows how rapidly and completely public opinion changed on the subject of transportation.

Opposition to the system sprang up in England, when the horrors due to the want of proper control and of separation became fully known. As one Australian colony after another became the home of a constantly increasing number of free settlers, the colonists themselves became more and more opposed to the introduction of criminals from outside. And the final death-blow was given to the system by the rush of immigrants, which followed on the discovery of gold in

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Victoria in 1851. At the present time, the strength of the feeling in Australia against the results of transportation may be gauged by the recent outcry of the colonists, against the existence of a French penal settlement within measurable distance of the continent, and the loud expression of their fears, that the Australian shores may be contaminated by the landing of convicts or ex-convicts from New Caledonia.

In this latter island the French government are still trying the experiment, which the English have abandoned, and still hope to make respectable colonists out of the criminal population of the mother country. Australia has been taken as their model: and the stages have been carefully elaborated, by which the convict graduates into a free citizen; passing from prison to family life, to landed proprietorship, and to more and more unrestricted communion with the outer world. The theory is at once sound and attractive: but, in view of past experience, it may well be doubted whether the practical results of the system would bear detailed examination, or be found to be more satisfactory in New Caledonia than they have proved elsewhere.

b. *Inden-
'ured
coolies.*

11. The last kind of colonist to be noticed is the class of indentured coolies. The system of emigration under contract to labour for a term of years is of no modern origin. Labourers were supplied in this way to the Virginian plantations in the early days of English colonisation¹: and it was found necessary to make stringent provisions against the practice of kidnapping on the part of the labour contractors, who shipped off their victims from the port of Bristol; and to take legal steps, to prevent the indentured labourer from becoming a slave.

It was the abolition of slavery, however, which led to the present system. The sugar-growing colonies required a constant and steady supply of labour to replace the negro

¹ See Doyle's 'History of the English in America,' vol. i. chap. xiii.

slaves; and resort was had to the over-populated East to provide workmen for the West Indian plantations. Except to a small extent at first, the supply has not been drawn from Africa; but from other sources, which have been comparatively free from the taint of slavery, from China and British India. And latterly, as far at least as most of¹ the English colonies are concerned, the contract system has, mainly on grounds of expense, been confined to Indian coolies².

It would be out of place here to enter into the details of the system, which has been carefully organised by the English government, in order to preserve the freedom of their Indian subjects. It is clear that, without due supervision, there must always be a danger of the coolie traffic degenerating into a modified slave-trade, and of the labourer becoming more or less enslaved: and the danger is increased, by the difficulty of making members of a half civilised race understand the position in which they are placed by the terms of their contract, and the protection to which they are entitled from the law. The treatment recorded of Chinese coolies in the Guano islands of Peru, and the abuses which from time to time have been brought to light in connexion with the Pacific labour traffic, are evidence of the necessity, which is laid on any civilised government, of keeping coolie immigration strictly under control.

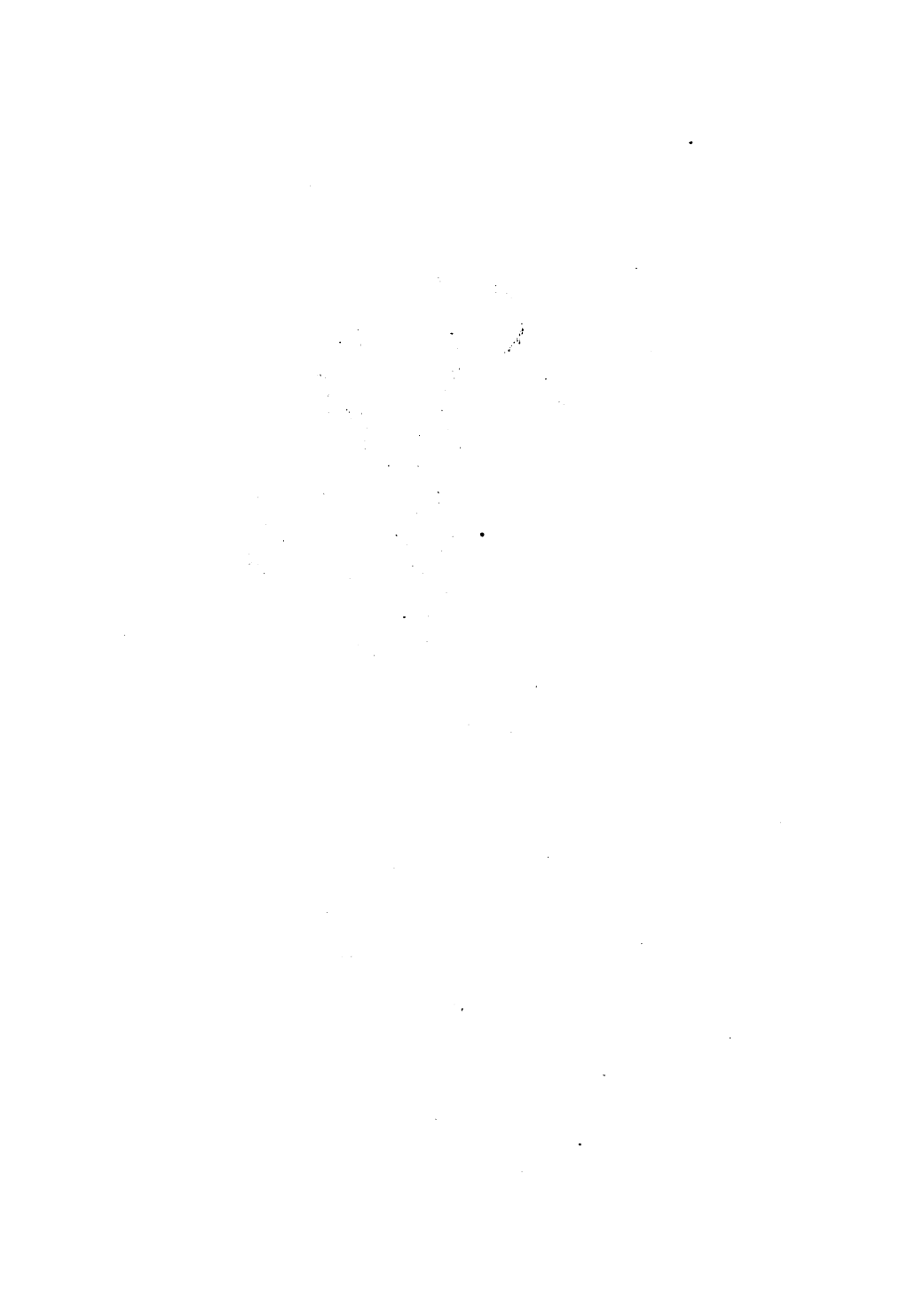
The essence of the contract system is to send immigrants to colonies for a term of years only, not to provide permanent settlers; and in most cases return passages

¹ Polynesians are, and were a few years ago to a much greater extent, imported into some of the Australasian colonies, especially Queensland, under a system of contract by indenture. The importation of these islanders is safeguarded by the Imperial Pacific Islanders Protection Acts.

² A full account of the system under which Indian coolies are imported into the colonies will be found in the Colonisation Circular for 1877, issued by the emigration board of the Colonial Office.

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after a certain period of service form one condition of the contract: but the practical result of this form of immigration, in the West Indies, and still more in Mauritius, has been, that a large Indian element has been added to the permanent population, an element which grows in importance year by year: and in a few generations it may be found, that the importation of coolie labourers has in effect become a great measure of state-controlled colonisation.



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and plant settlements in the North and West of Europe. And yet, even in the days of Augustus or Trajan, the city of Rome was far more than merely the chief town of the Roman dominions: the English Empire is the Empire of England, not of London; the Roman Empire, on the other hand, was from first to last the Empire, not of Italy, but of Rome. And as the states of the Mediterranean were mainly cities or confederations of cities; and their colonies, towns with no large extent of country attached to them: so in old days the term Colony¹ implied the people who emigrated, rather than, as in modern times, the territory colonised. And when we speak of Paris as the metropolis of France, or of Vienna as the metropolis of Austria, we forget that the true etymological meaning of the word 'metropolis' is not the chief town of a country or empire, but the mother city, the parent of separate city states.

The fact of the population being collected in towns, instead of being spread uniformly over a large tract of country, gave a powerful impulse to colonisation. Numbers soon pressed upon the limited space, and social and political quarrels were embittered by the difficulty which people found in getting out of each other's way: hence the *στάσεις*, or party feuds, of the Greek and Phoenician cities led to a large amount of emigration.

The Phoenicians.

4. The Phoenicians², however, were a far more commercial race than either the Greeks or the Romans: if some of their colonies were due to dissensions at home and to consequent emigration, the greater number were planted by the state as trading depôts on islands or on the coasts of the mainland. And, being more commercial than the Greeks, they went further afield; they sent their colonists from the extreme East to the extreme West of the Mediterranean, and even

¹ Lewis, 'Government of Dependencies,' chap. iii.

² For what is said of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians see Heeren, *Asiatic and African Nations*, and Lewis, 'Government of Dependencies.'

passed into the outer ocean. They traded with the Iberians and monopolised the treasures of the Andalusian mines. They planted their great colony of Cadiz beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Advancing northwards step by step, they reached at last the Scilly Isles and the tin-diggings on the mainland of Cornwall. They or their Carthaginian descendants, perhaps both the one and the other, sent their ships to Madeira. They sailed round Africa; and, in the East, they appear to have established trading stations in the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf.

The chief object of their commerce was mineral, especially gold, silver and tin. Similarly the precious metals were the chief object of Spanish merchants and explorers at the outset of modern history: and the mines of Spain were to the Phoenicians what the American mines were, in after ages, to the men who followed Columbus.

Before 700 B.C. the merchant sailors of Tyre and Sidon were, to quote Grote's words¹, 'the exclusive navigators of the Mediterranean.' They colonised Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Thasos, and other islands of the Aegean, and planted settlements on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Propontis. But they were gradually driven out of the Aegean and the eastern part of the Mediterranean by the Greeks, except in Cyprus, at the threshold of their own country, where, as in Sicily, the two rival nations continued side by side; and, in historical times, their colonies were to be found on the north coast of Africa, stretching westward from the territory of the Greek settlement of Cyrene, in Sicily, in Malta, in Sardinia, in the Balearic Isles, and in Spain. In Gaul and Italy they found no footing, but left these countries to their own inhabitants and to the Greek immigrants; adopting as their main principle of trade and colonisation, either to be exclusive masters of the situation or not to intrude at all.

4. The greatest of the Phoenician colonies was Carthage, *The Carthaginian*.

¹ History of Greece, chap. xviii.

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which owed its foundation to the disputes of political factions in the mother city Tyre : and Carthage in her turn became a coloniser on a large scale, and a ruler to an extent unknown to any of the other Phoenician towns. The Phoenicians, like the Greeks, kept little or no control over their colonies : the Carthaginians, on the contrary, held their settlements and dependencies well in hand. This result was due in great measure to the geographical position of Carthage : she was more centrally placed with regard to her dependencies than were the mother cities of Phoenicia, and therefore had them more within call. In ancient times, when communication was tedious and uncertain, it was difficult to keep a distant colony in a position of dependence ; and it is worth noticing, that the two Mediterranean states which enjoyed the most central position, namely Carthage and Rome, were the most successful in holding together a foreign and colonial empire.

Historians distinguish two periods in Carthaginian history. During the first period Carthage was the rival of Greece ; during the second she was the rival of Rome. The first began in the sixth century B.C., and lasted down to about the beginning of the first Punic war in the year 264 B.C. The second includes the years of the Punic wars, down to the final taking and destruction of the city in 146 B.C. Carthage became great as a commercial and a colonising state in the age preceding her long struggle with Rome. She gradually absorbed most of the old Phoenician settlements in the west of the Mediterranean (although some of the sister colonies, such as her near neighbour Utica, retained their independence), she became mistress of the western, the Phoenician, half of the north African coast. She gained a firm footing in Spain, and possessed herself of the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, Corsica, and the west of Sicily : and in addition she carried a chain of trading stations to the south-west along the coast of Morocco.

After the first Punic war, however, she entered upon a

different phase. Driven out of Sicily and Sardinia she tried to compensate herself by building up a Spanish empire. While in former times she had confined her efforts to maintaining trading settlements on the shores of the peninsula, and keeping up friendly commercial relations with the inland peoples, she now put on a more imperial dress, assumed a direct dominion over Spain as far as the line of the Ebro, and, under Hasdrubal's guidance, founded new Carthage to be the capital of Carthaginian Spain.

Her new greatness however was shortlived. In less than forty years her power was broken: and successful as she had been while yet a maritime and commercial state, she proved no match for Rome in the work of building up an inland empire.

5. Carthage planted two kinds of colonies. The first were inland agricultural colonies in the territory of the subject Africans. They were similar to the Athenian *κληρουχίαι*, and to the Roman *coloniae*: they served the double purpose of holding down the native races, and providing lands for the poorer Carthaginian citizens. The second were commercial stations, intended to tap the trade of the different countries on the shores of which they were placed, and strictly confined to the original object of their foundation, that of being feeders to the imperial city.

*Two classes
of Cartha-
ginian
colonies.*

As compared with the Greeks, the Carthaginians had some idea of keeping together a series of colonies and dependencies, and of forming a dominion: and, being practical men of business, they knew in their best days where to stop, and were not carried away by vague lust of conquest. But as compared with the Romans they failed to grow out of a city into an empire, and from first to last they followed an exclusive and oppressive policy to their subjects and colonists.

Some parallel to them may be found in the Venetians in the Middle Ages; and later in the Dutch, to whom¹ Heeren compares them in their mode of colonisation. Venice, like

*Compari-
son of Car-
thaginians
with Vene-
tians and
Dutch.*

¹ 'African Nations,' p. 24.

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Carthage, was a maritime commercial city-state, governed by a merchant oligarchy, fighting her battles with mercenary troops, a harsh monopolist in her relations with her dependencies¹, and utilising her colonies for the purpose of enriching her poorer citizens. Like the Carthaginians, the Dutch have been an almost purely commercial race; and their settlements have been trading settlements, planted mainly on islands. They too have pursued a policy of rigid monopoly in regard to the trade of their colonies, and their history shows that Holland never expanded into a Dutch empire. She remained, and still remains, a small European state, with a long train of foreign possessions, which have always been regarded as tributaries to, rather than as one with, the mother country.

*The Greeks.**Two classes of Greek colonies.**(1) The ἀποικίαι or Greek colonies proper.*

The Greeks, though a trading and maritime race, were not so exclusively commercial as the Phoenicians. The Greek colonies proper, the ἀποικίαι, were very far from being mere trading stations. They originated, as has been seen, in overpopulation, or in social or political quarrels; the story of the foundation of Cyrene by emigrants from the island of Thera being a good instance of the manner in which economical distress, political discontent, and social inequalities, combined to promote Greek colonisation. They were as a rule not planted by the government of the mother city; and, in their relations to it, they were 'somewhat similar to the English colonies in America, especially after the independence of the latter².' From the first they were separate towns, the citizens of which represented the surplus population of certain other towns.

Like the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, the Greeks settled on islands and sea-coasts, and did not, at any rate till the time of the Macedonians, make any attempt to acquire any large continental dominions. Greek life was town life

¹ See 'Government of Dependencies,' chap. ii.

² 'Government of Dependencies,' chap. ii; but contrast Niebuhr, 'Lectures on Ancient History,' Lecture xxix.

carried to an extreme, and no pure Greek state rose beyond the limit of being the chief city in a confederation.

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All the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, with the exception of Phoenicia, were colonised by the Greeks. The islands of the Aegean passed into their hands, and even in Phoenician Cyprus they founded a Salamis. A series of Hellenic settlements encircled the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora. Greek colonists planted themselves in the Crimean peninsula, and placed Byzantium to command for ever the passage of the Bosphorus. The Athenian Miltiades, the victor of Marathon, reigned in the Thracian Chersonnese; and the Greek cities in and near Chalcidice, Potidaea, Olynthus, Therme and others, played an important part both in earlier and later Greek history. Corinth sent settlers northwards along the coast of the Adriatic to Corcyra and Epidamnus. In Italy, Cumae, like many later Greek cities the colony of a colony, was planted far back in prehistoric times upon the Campanian shores; and the southern peninsula, containing the great cities of Sybaris, Croton, Locri, Tarentum, and many others, became so completely Hellenised, as to be known under the name of *Magna Graecia*. In Sicily such towns as Syracuse and Agrigentum were great enough to hold their own against the Carthaginian power. In the south of France, the enterprising Phocaeans, who had already planted the unsuccessful colony of Alalia in Corsica, founded the seaport of Massalia; which held a position in ancient days little if at all inferior in relative importance to the modern Marseilles. And the Massalians, in their turn, inheriting the boldness of their ancestors, trespassed upon the Phoenician preserves, and planted five settlements on the east coast of Spain. Lastly, on the north shores of Africa, between the borders of Egypt and the Carthaginian frontier, in what is now the province of Tripoli, the Dorians found a site for settlements of their race, the greatest and best-known of which was the city of Cyrene.

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It is noteworthy, that the Greek colonies in most instances became great before the cities of Greece proper. Miletus, whose origin was traced back directly to the prytaneum of Athens, became the most powerful of the Ionic towns in Asia Minor, sent out colonies in her turn to the Black Sea and the coasts of Thrace, and fell under the sway first of the Lydians and subsequently of the Persians, before Athens had shown any signs of greatness. Tarentum, the child of Sparta, soon outstripped the mother village. And the Corinthian colony of Syracuse grew out of all comparison with Corinth herself.

As Adam Smith points out¹, the colonists found more land and more room for expansion in their new homes than in the mother cities: and something must be attributed to the readiness with which the Greeks², especially the members of the Ionic branch, assimilated themselves to and intermarried with the native races, making friends of their neighbours; adding to their own population; and rejecting in the colonies much of the exclusiveness, which characterised and confined the citizens of the older Greek communities.

(2) *The
Athenian
κληρουχίαι.*

The Athenian κληρουχίαι, to which allusion has been made, were of a totally different character from the ordinary Greek colonies. They were similar to the agricultural settlements planted by Carthage in Libya, and also to the Roman coloniae, though without having so distinctly a military character as most of the latter³. They consisted of allotments of land, in the territory not of barbarian tribes but of conquered Greeks, made by the Athenian government to Athenian citizens; and they were employed at once to punish and hold in check the conquered state, and to provide for the conquerors. Land was thus appropriated in Aegina, in Euboea, in many of the Aegean islands, in Thrace, and in the

¹ Chapter on Causes of Prosperity in New Colonies.

² See Curtius, 'History of Greece,' bk. ii. chap. iii.

³ See 'Government of Dependencies,' chap. ii.

Chersonnese. How widely these cleruchies differed from the ἀποικίαι, or Greek colonies proper¹, is shown by the fact, that in some cases, as in that of Mitylene, the allottees of the land either never emigrated at all, or returned after a while to Athens, playing the part of absentee landlords and drawing rents from the old owners of the soil. This system of colonisation was peculiar to Athens, the greatest of the Greek states; and is one of the few indications of an imperial policy, which are to be found in the history of Greece. It attained its fullest development during the administration of Pericles, the greatest statesman whom Greece produced, and one of the very few Greeks who seem to have conceived the idea of a Greek empire and a Greek nation, as opposed to a mere collection of small rival municipalities.

In the main, Greek colonisation, like Greek history and Greek geography, was disjointed. Enterprising, commercial, at home on the sea, self-reliant, and ready to adapt themselves to any circumstances, the Greeks could emigrate and found colonies. But they had no cohesion and no power of ruling; they could not grow out of municipal into imperial ways; and so no Greek state can be said to have made or held a colonial empire.

6. Unlike the Greeks and Phoenicians, the Romans were not a maritime race. The 'ambition of the Romans,' says Gibbon², 'was confined to the land; nor was that warlike people ever actuated by the enterprising spirit, which had prompted the navigators of Tyre, of Carthage, and even of Marseilles, to enlarge the bounds of the world and to explore the most remote coasts of the ocean.' They were not, again, to any great extent a commercial race; nor had they the power of assimilation which was possessed by the Greeks. They were an agricultural and military people, gradually enlarging the borders of their territory by force of arms,

The Romans.

¹ See Boeckh, 'Public Economy of Athens.'

² Chapter i.

CHAPTER V. and developing, as none of the other Mediterranean states developed, into a continental power.

—♦— The Phoenicians and Greeks extended their range by planting settlements, which had little geographical or political connexion with Phoenicia or Greece. The expansion of the Carthaginians and Romans on the contrary, holding, as has been shown, a more central position, was geographically continuous. Rome was the centre of a circle with an ever widening circumference. She consolidated Southern Italy, took in Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the land between the Po and the Alps. She constituted herself the heir of the Carthaginians and the Greeks, and gradually extended her dominion north and south, east and west. When the empire attained its widest dimensions under Trajan, it included not only all the Mediterranean lands, but practically the whole of the world as then known. All Western Europe up to the Rhine was under Roman dominion, and Britain was a subject province. The line of the Danube had been passed, and the province of Dacia constituted in what is now Roumanian and Hungarian territory. In the East the empire touched the Caspian and the Persian Gulf; its frontiers stretched far down the Red Sea on both the Arabian and Egyptian sides; and the whole of the northern coast of Africa belonged to Rome.

The Romans were not merely a fighting race, they were also a race of rulers. When they had made a conquest, and acquired a dependency, they knew how to retain it. Their legacies to the world have been the law, which they formulated and administered, and the roads, radiating out from Rome to all quarters of the world, by which they overcame the difficulties of communication, and kept their provinces together.

They held their dependencies partly by their garrisons, partly by their policy and good government: for when compared not only with other ancient peoples, but also with the nations of Western Europe down to very recent

times, it must be allowed that they governed well. Law was enforced; justice was in the main dealt out between man and man; and if many of their pro-consuls were oppressive and unjust, the history of the colonies and dependencies of modern Europe will furnish instances of equally great injustice and oppression. The iniquities of Verres in Sicily are paralleled by the cruelty and rapacity of the Portuguese governors who succeeded Albuquerque in India: and if Romans of the type of Sallust amassed vast fortunes in the provinces, they were no worse than the English Nabobs of the time of Clive, who left England for India penniless men, and after a course of years returned home millionaires.

Further the policy of the Romans broadened with the growth of their empire. Imperial took the place of municipal views, the franchise was extended, and the Roman citizenship was given first to the Italians, subsequently to the provincials. While, as a sovereign race, they kept a strong hand on their dependencies, they yet allowed some amount of Home Rule; and whether dealing with Greeks or Jews or Egyptians, they ordinarily interfered but little with local customs and creeds. The consequence of combining military strength with good administration and liberal statesmanship was that, instead of losing their dependencies one by one at the first sign of pressure from without, as was the case with other ancient states, they held together an enormous empire for generation after generation.

The Roman *coloniae*¹, as the term implies, bore the character of agricultural settlements. No colonist was sent out from Rome without receiving a prescribed quantity of land in his new home. Colonisation in the sense of unauthorised voluntary emigration to uninhabited or savage lands had no place in the Roman system. The colonies, like the cleruchies, were purely the work of the state: they were allotments of land in conquered territory, made by the

*The Roman
coloniae.*

¹ See chap. i. on meaning of 'colonia.'

CHAPTER government, with a view at once to holding the subject
 V. peoples in check and to providing land for the poorer
 ——— citizens of Rome.

*Four
 stages of
 coloniae,*

(1) *The
 Coloniae
 civium Ro-
 manorum.*

(2) *The
 Latin
 colonies.*

(3) *The
 Gracchan
 colonies.*

(4) *The
 later
 Roman
 colonies.*

The different kinds of Roman colonies, and the various rights which each kind enjoyed, have been more debated than almost any other subject in ancient history, and the question is too complicated to be here discussed. The early colonies appear to have been planted simply as outposts of the Roman race among the subject Latins and Italians. The earliest of all, the *coloniae civium Romanorum*, were garrisons of Roman citizens placed in the conquered towns, and endowed with land at the expense of the inhabitants of those towns. These colonies were succeeded by the Latin colonies. Under this latter system the incoming Romans were merged in the Latin or Italian community; and the whole was constituted a *colonia* and became a part of the Roman state, though without enjoying the full privileges of Roman citizenship. At the time of the Gracchi a new set of colonies came into existence: they were intimately connected with the agrarian laws, and with the proposed resumption by the government of the state domains. They were designed as a democratic measure to relieve the distress which existed among the poorer citizens of Rome, and to draw off the surplus population of the city. With their introduction the area of Roman colonisation was widened, one of the new settlements, planted by Caius Gracchus on the site where Carthage had stood, being the first transmarine colony of Rome.

The latest phase of Roman colonisation, like the earliest, took the form of military settlement. Sulla provided for 120,000 of his soldiers by allotments of land throughout Italy; and, under the empire, the provinces were studded, especially on the frontiers of the north and west, with *coloniae* composed of retired soldiers, who were paid by land grants for doing garrison duty.